This Pamphlet has now been officially prohibited from circulating throughout the entire Occupied area. But the truth will not be stifled.

Pamphlet No. 44a. *8th Edition.* ***Price 6d.***

THE HORROR ON THE RHINE

By E. D. MOREL.

(With a Preface by Arthur Ponsonby
and a New Foreword by the Author.)

April, 1921.

"We appeal to the whole civilised world, to all right-thinking and chivalrous men and women, to use every effort in order that an end may be put to the occupation of a European country by coloured troops and the unavoidable consequences connected therewith."
Protest signed by Prince Max von Baden and others. Freiburg, June 23th.

''We appeal to the women of the world to support us in our protest against the utterly unnatural occupation by coloured troops of German districts along the Rhine."
Frau Rohl, Socialist Member of the Reichstag, speaking in the Reichstag, May 20

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PREFACE

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The indictment contained in these pages of the policy pursued by the French Government in investing their zone of the occupied area with coloured troops and the description of the consequences of that policy need no further elaboration by me. Mr. Morel has made a careful investigation into all the relevant facts and circumstances, and states the case without exaggeration and with convincing eloquence. If his appeal fails to elicit a sympathetic response and an indignant protest it will not be because those who read it remain unconvinced by his statement of facts It will fail only in those cases where deep-rooted prejudice, begot of war hatred, remains indifferent to any indignity or outrage perpetrated against the German people.

I may, perhaps, emphasise three points: —

(i.) I have myself examined copies of the documents relative to the specific cases he quotes. Apart from the fact that none of these cases are even improbable, the date, time, place, names of witnesses, as well as victims (given in each case), and the names of civil and military authorities, French and German, to whose notice the incidents were brought, would make it possible to trace each one and test it. But, as he rightly explains, the force of his argument does not rest on the number of cases of rape, or attempted rape, which can be produced, but on far larger grounds.

(ii.) There is no indictment here of the coloured troops themselves.

On the contrary, their cause for complaint is in some ways stronger than that of the population among whom they are forced to reside. If Europe is to become accustomed to the employment of coloured soldiers for political purposes, there is a danger in store for the African populations as well as the European, the full extent of which we can only faintly realise.

(iii.) There is no indictment here against the French people. They have been most deliberately and carefully kept in the dark by their Government with regard to the facts. Their indignation, were they fully enlightened, would be sufficient, I feel confident, to secure the abandonment of this pernicious policy.

E. D. Morel has espoused the cause of African natives before to-day, and by persistence he succeeded. May success attend his present effort on behalf of the best interests of civilisation.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE TO EIGHTH EDITION-

Since the appearance of the Seventh Edition, the subject with which this pamphlet deals has led to passionate controversy in the United States. In so far as any of those taking part in it may be doing so from motives of race prejudice, I much regret the fact : if fact it be.

There is no attack upon Africans in this pamphlet, as anyone can see who reads Part IV. On the other hand, the excuses (and even the denials of the presence of African troops on the Rhine) which have been put forth in certain quarters in America are merely childish.

The problem assumes an additional gravity with the extension of the French occupation. The *Rhenish Women's League* have issued a further pamphlet as the result of investigations on the spot. It makes sad reading, but does not add materially to our knowledge. 1 hear that a Swedish Commission has also been investigating the facts. I note with appreciation an outspoken Editorial in the New York *Freeman,* whom not the bitterest partisan would accuse of negrophobia.

April, 1921.

FOREWORD TO SEVENTH EDITION

By E. D. MOREL.

Although it has been found necessary to increase the price of this Pamphlet from d. to 6d., its sale continues to be steady.

The action of the Rhineland Commission in prohibiting its circulation will certainly not affect its sale.

The truth about this horrible business is permeating throughout the civilised world.

Investigations recently undertaken on the spot by the representative of the *New York World* have fully corroborated the accuracy of the facts here set forth.

A petition has been sent to the League of Nations on the subject, signed by the Women's Social Welfare Societies of Holland.

Public meetings are being held in the United States where several organisations are at work propagating the facts.

A Swedish officer well known in Stockholm. Colonel Petersen, has recently published the result of his personal observations in the *Aftonbladet* of January 18. After remarking that the "Conscience of the whole civilised world has been outraged, and the reputation of France seriously damaged," he describes his experiences in Wiesbaden:

> I have been in the position to see the misery caused by this policy, notably at Wiesbaden. Under expert guidance I inspected the long row of houses of which the windows were pasted over with paper (curtains were inadequate to conceal what was going on behind the windows). These houses are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the Wilhelmstrasse which is the main artery of Wiesbaden .... In French garrison towns such houses are called "maisons tolérées" (e.g., tolerated houses—brothels). Here they may rather be called "maisons ordonnées" (e.g. enforced houses) for they have been established by order of the French military authorities and are maintained at the expense of the Municipality. I have unimpeachable data to prove this statement. Nothing of the kind has ever been done in Germany before ... During my visit I had the opportunity of witnessing the mounting of the guard with accompaniments of much pomp and ceremony. First came the Military Bands headed by a Frenchman ... The musicians were not all pitch black. Brown was the predominant colour, but many of them were as black as Numidian boot-polish. To the strains of this Negro music, the French Band Master performed the ceremony of the mounting of the guard, which resembled a military cotillion, the like of which I have never seen in any other quarter of the globe. If the French think that such an exhibition enhances their own self-importance, that is their affair. It assuredly produced a loathsome impression upon us Scandinavians. In order to show the existing conditions I will give

one more instance. A prominent citizen belonging to a distinguished patrician family in a town situated within the occupied area was for some reason or other (and reasons are easily found nowadays) confined in a French military prison guarded by Blacks. I wonder what the Swedish public would say if our country were occupied by a revengeful enemy and the Burgermeister of Stockholm had been thrown into a military prison under the guard of Dahomey Negroes or Khirgis. Then the Swedish people would perhaps realise the shame of the outrage which the French are inflicting on a civilised kindred nation.

It remains to be said that Dutch and German Editions of the pamphlet have been issued, and that French and Italian Editions are probable in the near future.

The Author. *February, 1921.*

THE HORROR ON THE RHINE

By E. D. MOREL.

Article 428 of the Treaty of Versailles provides that all German territory west of the Rhine, together with the bridge-heads on the right bank, is to be occupied by the military forces of the Allies for a period of fifteen years " as a guarantee n for the Treaty's execution.'

The French occupy the largest area of the territory affected—the Palatinate. They have also established a military occupation in the Saar Basin, whose coal mines are ceded to France under Article 45 of the Treaty, although there is no provision for such in the Treaty.[2]

I. — FIRST INTIMATION OF THE PRESENCE OF AFRICAN TROOPS IN THE OCCUPYING FORCE.

In March of the current year it became known to me that the French Army of Occupation had included from the beginning of the occupation large numbers—estimates varied between 30,000 and 40,000—of African troops, from Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Madagascar, and Western Africa.

This fact had been kept out of our Press. A certain number of outrages committed by these African troops upon women and girls; the erection of brothels for their use and other information of a like character also reached me, from private persons in Germany, from their relatives and friends in England, and from correspondents in France and in neutral countries.

I first drew attention to the matter in a letter to the *Nation* (March 27), laying emphasis not upon specific acts of outrage ("It does not matter—I wrote—whether available reports are few or numerous"), but upon the fact itself, i.e., the presence of these African troops—many of them conscripted among races in a primitive stage of civilisation—the inevitable local effects which must accompany their presence, and the poli tical consequences both in Europe and in Africa which must eventually ensue.

Early in April the French moved further into Germany. They occupied Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Offenbach, and other German towns on the right bank of the Rhine (from which they have since withdrawn), and they carried out that occupation very largely with African troops, moving them from the left to the right bank of the river. This fact they advertised to the world, and it was only then that the general public became aware that French militarist policy towards an enemy defeated in war included the quartering of African conscript levies upon that defeated enemy in time of peace.

(1) The occupation may cease over certain areas under specified conditions at the end of five years; in others at the end of ten years, if the clauses of the Treaty are “faithfully carried out " (Art. 429); but it can 'be renewed, even after the expiration of the fifteen years, if Germany fails to observe even a part of her obligations under the Treaty (Art. 430). The occupation will cease should Germany comply “with all the undertakings " in the Treaty before the expiration of fifteen years (Art. 431).

(2) The Treaty provides that the government of the territory shall be entrusted to a Commission representing the League of Nations. Article 30 stipulates that “only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established."

(3) In April last the total number of African troops in the Rhineland, the Saar, and Frankfurt was reliably reported to consist of some 28,000 Moroccans and Algerians. 2,000 Malagasies, and 8,000 West and Central African negroes (the so-called “Senegalese.")

I thereupon went a step further, and published a comprehensive indictment of the policy in the *Daily Herald* of April 10. This exposure was reproduced all over the world. It opened many mouths which had hitherto remained closed, in quarters where the facts had long been known.

People plucked up sufficient courage in Germany to speak out. That they had not done so before appears at first sight remarkable, and a word or two of explanation is necessary.

The attitude of mind prevailing in Germany in connection with this and other matters arising out of the Versailles Treaty can only be understood by those who realise the psychological conditions which prevail in Germany. The character of the Versailles Treaty and the continuance of the blockade during the Armistice coming on top of the general disaster of the war have momentarily stunned the German people. They look upon the Treaty as a betrayal so stupendous and so overwhelming in its consequences that they have sunk under it like a pole-axed ox, and the cruelty of the prolonged blockade has induced in them something of the feeling of a man who sees his last faith in humanity wither before his eyes. Mr Keynes, who is not a tender critic of the misdeeds of old Imperial Germany, has done something to convey to his countrymen a notion of what the ultimate judgment of history is likely to be on the Versailles Treaty.

He describes it as “a breach of engagements and of international morality comparable with their (the Germans) own offence in the invasion of Belgium.” But it is safe to say that the mass of the British people are still ignorant to-day that their Government were parties to any breach of international morality at all: so well has the truth been kept from them by their newspapers. Many of us go further than Mr. Keynes.

Yielding to none in our condemnation of the invasion of Belgium, we place it in the perspective which history will give to it—the ruthless opening of a ruthless war in which Imperial Germany trampled upon human rights on the plea of strategic necessity, as other Governments have done and will continue to do as long as war lasts. That the action taken by the rulers of Germany had long been foreseen and predicted by strategists and writers[4] did not lessen its moral obliquity, but did invest the capital made out of it by the Allied Governments with insincerity. But no plea of strategic or political necessity in the face of a desperate national crisis can be advanced in defence of the Versailles outrage. That outrage was inflicted, in flat defiance of their plighted word, upon a defeated enemy which had not surrendered

unconditionally but on the agreed upon terms of a peace based on President Wilson's fourteen points, by victorious Governments whose professions of exalted moral purpose had rung through the world for five years, and who had explicitly pledged themselves to a Wilson peace on the condition that, Germany accepted Armistice terms which rendered her helpless in their hands. That experience, together with the main tenance of the blockade to compel Germany's signature to the Treaty, *i.e.,* the maintenance of a war weapon whose effect had been to double child mortality and to slaughter some 800 people daily,5 has to a large extent broken the *morale* of Germany, and is accountable for the fact that the presence of African troops in the Rhineland and the reign of terror ensuing were passively endured until there came from out side Germany some indication that in this respect, at least, public protest from within Germany might not prove altogether hopeless.

(4) A typical example: —The *Round Table,* whose then editor has since acquired fame as one of Mr. Lloyd George's secretaries, published in its issue of June, 1913, an article entitled "The Balkan War and the Balance of Power." In the course of that article, which is concerned with discussing the political and strategic moves in a war between the Central Powers and the Franco-Russian alliance, the writer says: — "If, therefore, Germany were to attack France across the frontier actually common to the two countries she would have an almost impossible task. ... If the Germans consider that they cannot go through, they would certainly try to get round; and it is hardly likely that the rights of smaller nationalities would be held sacred by either side if there was any advantage to be gained by violating them."

After examining the problem of a German advance by way of Switzerland, and rejecting it owing to the danger, the writer goes on: — "The violation of Belgium by Germany, however, stands on a very different footing. It may be regarded as a practical certainty in the event of war. . . . Indeed, there is a considerable body of Belgian opinion which holds that in her own interests Belgium should treat all the country south of the Sambre and the Maas as a soil of no man's land, where the bigger Powers can fight it out among themselves. Unable to protect herself unaided, no wonder Belgium wishes to sit on the fence and side with the winner."

II. — DENIALS.

But it was not only in Germany that the effect of the *Daily Herald* article was felt. Meetings were held in England and in neutral countries.

The Swedish Premier referred to the matter in the *Rigsdag*. The branches of the Women's International League got moving. Fifty thousand Swedish women signed a protest. Similar emphatic expressions of opinion were heard in Norway, Italy, and elsewhere. Notable protests were uttered by responsible Frenchmen—by Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Jean Longuet, Paul Louis. Private representations were made to the French Government. On July 14 the American Colony in Berlin held a public meeting of protest, so largely attended that an overflow meeting was necessary, and passed a resolution calling for the sympathy of American women.5

The question now enters a new phase—with official denials, not, of course, of the presence of these troops, or of the brothels forced upon even the smallest towns by the French Command; but of specific outrages upon women committed by them. The occupied regions are supervised by a body known as the "Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission." This body appears to have investigated conditions. The French Government has issued a statement to the effect that charges against the conduct of

the African troops have been grossly exaggerated by "German publicists," that action has been taken in regard to the few substantiated cases, and that all the Allied representatives have signed a report to that effect.[7] An echo of these official statements was heard in the House of Commons on July 21 when, replying to a question put by Mr. Allen Parkinson (Wigan, Labour), Mr. Bonar Law said:—"The Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission recently pronounced a sentence of suspension for fifteen days from June 16 as regards seven German publications, of which the two most important were the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* and the *Rheinische Zeitung,* for articles attacking the French coloured troops.[8] The High Commission are satisfied that the accusations made against these troops are devoid of any substantial foundation. Several of the newspapers which published these charges having apologised, the period of suspension was reduced to five days. The British representative on the High Commission has reported in this sense."

As to the conditions in which this inquiry was held, its character, the witnesses interrogated, the ground it covered—and so on, we are told, of course, nothing.

(5) Prince Max von Baden's statement based upon the report of Professors Rubner, Thomas, Zuntz, Moritz, Pflugge, and Hahn, in the *New York Nation,* December 20, 1919. The continuation of the blockade during the five months of the Armistice is reliably computed to have killed outright 100,000 persons.

(6) A *verbatim* report of the speech delivered by the writer at the Central Hall, Westminster, can be found in *Foreign Affairs* for May, and also in a pamphlet issued by the British Branch of the Women's International League.

(7) The French Government issued a summons against *Le Populaire,* of Paris, which M. Longuet edits, and which reproduced portions of the *Daily Herald* article. But the threatened prosecution has not materialised. The French Government has evidently thought better of the matter.

(8) The facts as to the alleged apology are, I am informed, these; --The *Kölnischer Volkszeitung* (Centrum and the *Rheinisher Zeitung* (Socialist) published, under the duress described by Mr. Bonar Law with no sign of disapproval, statements to the effect that some of the articles they had published were calculated to produce strained relations between the population and the Army of Occupation. They have not withdrawn their statements as to the acts of the African troops. Three of the Palatinate papers categorically refused to acquiesce in the order to repudiate the facts they had published.

III. — BURKING* THE MAIN ISSUE.

I have had a good deal of experience of this kind of thing, and some practice in handling it. It will be at once observed that Mr. Bonar Law's statement barks the main issue. It deals wholly with charges brought against the conduct of African troops. The actions of individual members of France's African Army on the Rhine is not the main issue; but an ancillary one. The indictment is not primarily against them. They, too, are the victims of a policy. The indictment is against French militarism.

The indictment is against French militarism for conscripting the peoples of Africa and thrusting tens of thousands of African conscripts into the heart of Europe.

The indictment is against French militarism for quartering tens of thousands of African troops upon European communities in time of peace.

The indictment is against French militarism for initiating a policy which is bound to have demoralising effects in Europe.

The indictment is against French militarism for initiating a policy which is bound to have incalculable evil consequences in Africa and for Africa.

And from that indictment neither French militarism nor its apologists in this country or elsewhere will be allowed to escape by a side door. That indictment will continue to be pressed home. It has got to be. We are dealing here with a tremendous problem. The little men who are playing with it will not be allowed to throw dust in the eyes of the world. A European Power has determined to use the manhood of Africa—of all Africa, even the most primitive regions of the Continent—for the pursuit of Imperial ends in Europe and elsewhere. It has imported and is maintaining on European soil an army of African mercenaries, which can be used as a handy instrument for its domestic as well as for its Imperial policy. The consequences of its action are not confined to the national interests of the Power concerned. They are international, both in their European and African aspects.

That is the main issue.

(*) Editor's note: Burking is the act of murdering someone — typically by smothering or asphyxiation — in a way that leaves the body unmarked, originally done to sell the corpse for medical dissection. Metaphorically, it means to quietly suppress, censor, stifle, or hush up an issue or discussion to avoid attention.

The term originates from William Burke, a notorious 19th-century criminal in Edinburgh. Along with his accomplice William Hare, Burke murdered victims by sitting on their chests while smothering them, which kept the corpses intact for medical schools to purchase.

IV. — THE VALUE OF THE DENIALS.

But this denial, even in its limitations, is valueless. I am concerned here mainly with the local effects incidental to the policy of the French militarists. What is involved in our acceptance of this denial? We are asked to believe that tens of thousands of African troops, men in the prime of life, separated from their womenkind, can be permanently stationed among a European population without deplorable social results ensuing. We are incidentally invited to forget that the population among which these African troops are stationed is a population beaten in a war in which these African troops have been active participants; a population upon

which this occupation is inflicted despite its protests; a population among which these African troops move as armed conquerors. Let us see just what acceptance of these demands upon our credulity and thoughtless ness means—and for once let us set aside the national pharisaism, and look things squarely and honestly in the face.

If this occupation were not accompanied by deplorable social results it would mean that the sexual requirements of tens of thousands of Africans, living in an enforced state of celibacy, had (*a*) either mysteriously disappeared or *(b)* could be satisfied with the services of professional prostitutes. Will anyone outside a lunatic asylum uphold the first postulate? It has been suggested that to attribute strong sexual instincts to the African, and especially to the African negro, is to do the African a wrong. Why? In a letter which Sir Harry Johnston wrote to the Women's International League, he used as an argument deprecating what he termed attacks upon French African troops, the fact that many of them were Mohammedans. This fact merely reinforces the contention I advance. Polygamy is the recognised social relationship in sexual matters of the Mohammedan world. It is sanctioned by the Koran, which allows four wives to the believer. Openly recognised polygamous unions sanctioned by law, religion, and custom may be infinitely preferable as a social institution to the unrecognised polygamy which prevails in nominally monogamous Europe, or it may not. It may be the most decent and the most racially preservative practice for Arabia and for Africa, or it may not. But where are the wives of these polygamous African Mohammedans whom French militarism has implanted among the population of western Germany? *They are in Africa!* Will it be seriously maintained that the sexual desire is less strong among polygamous Mohammedan Moors and Arabs of North Africa than among the peoples of Western Europe? Will anyone who knows anything of tropical and sub-tropical Africa, whose tribes the French have been conscripting for the past eight years, contend that sex does not play an immensely important part—and rightly—in the sociology of that part of the world? The admission that it does implies no reproach to the African negro in Africa. Nature opposes such obstacles to man in tropical Africa that strong sex instinct is essential to racial survival. If that strong sex instinct were non-existent, what between Nature and the abominations of the old and the modern slave-trades, the negro race would long ago have vanished from the face of the earth.

Again, and speaking generally, will it be denied that among the more primitive—or the more natural, if that word be preferred—races inhabiting the tropical and sub-tropical areas of Africa, the sex-impulse is a more instinctive impulse, and precisely because it is so, a more spontaneous, fiercer, less controllable impulse than among European peoples hedged in by the complicated paraphernalia of convention and laws.

It is obvious, then, that the sexual requirements of the North and West Central African troops which French militarism has thrust upon the Rhineland must continue to exist, and that in the absence of their own women-folk *must be satisfied upon the bodies of white women*. Assuming these requirements to be fully met by professional prostitutes, the French Government would still be responsible for introducing into Europe, and in "aggravated form," the seeds of racial hatred and racial prejudice which is so disturbing a feature in the social conditions of the southern States of the American Union. It would still be responsible for the after-effects of that policy in European-administered Africa. I say in "aggravated form," because in professional prostitution in the States the separation of the races is maintained, and a white prostitute who has connection with a black loses caste

among her own class. But the habitual sexual connection between African troops and European professional women in Europe is going to intensify — has already begun to do so — the complexities of European administration in Africa in a hundred subtle ways. It will be the African 'who will suffer primarily from the upshot of this. The Editors of negro newspapers in the States who attack me would be far better employed in an endeavour to visualise the political effects in Africa which will certainly follow the sexual promiscuity between white and black in Europe that the policy of French militarism has made inevitable. The European is not going to clear out of Africa in our generation, at any rate, and all influences tending to exacerbate the relations between the white governing power in Africa and the black governed is going to be a bad thing for the African — for the Negro especially. One might, too, be pardoned for assuming that some sympathy might be aroused among these gentlemen of the pen of African descent for men of their original race who have been torn from their homes, separated for years from their kinsfolk, subjugated to every kind of hardship, and used as mere cannon-fodder for the benefit of French capitalistic militarism and imperialism in Europe, in Syria or elsewhere.

But, apart from the evidence which I shall presently produce, is it rational to suppose that the services of professional unfortunates do, or can, suffice to satisfy the sexual appetites of the tens of thousands of African troops scattered over the Palatinate and the Saar? Is it rational to suppose that these powerful men, leading a more or less idle life, subjected, let it be pointed out once more, to an enforced celibacy—although belonging, in the main, to a race and to a society where polygamy is the recognised social institution—moving freely and armed about the countryside among a disarmed population which they have helped to defeat after five bloody years of warfare, do not on numerous occasions yield to temptations from which European occupying troops are certainly not exempt? Of course it is not, and those who pretend otherwise are guilty of an hypocrisy which has not even the merit of deceiving.

I desired to emphasise these *general* arguments before dealing with con*crete* facts, in order to make it clear that the case against the policy of French militarism in the occupied regions of Germany is a case which does not require to be buttressed with evidence as to its local concomitants in order to be condemned by public opinion in every civilised country. It is on the face of it a monstrous policy. If the women of the Rhineland are its helpless victims so also are the Africans whom it conscripts. Indeed the peoples of Europe and of Africa are all alike its victims, for it is keeping alive the slumbering fires of hate in Europe as nothing else is doing, and it is kindling new fires in the relations of Europe with Africa. If we can imagine what our feelings would be were the parts reversed, and if the West Country, or South Wales, or the lowlands of Scotland were occupied by African troops in German pay, with the prospect of fifteen years of such an experience, while a Reparations Commission composed of our late enemies were sitting in London squeezing every ounce of national wealth out of us and threatening us every few months with an extension of the occupation; if we can imagine these things, if we can picture to ourselves the psycho logical effect of this Black terror perpetually in our midst, the haunting thought of the insecurity of our women folk as we went to our work in the fields or in the factory, the knowledge that in the event of our working classes striking against intolerable conditions of labour imposed by the conditions of a Treaty forced upon us by our conquerors, these African troops would be used to shoot them down ; the affront of their continual presence rubbing us on the raw in a thousand ways—if we can imagine these things and their consequences upon us,

then we may be able to form some sort of idea of the passion of resentment which must be burning in the heart and brain of every German of normal instincts.

V. — WITH THE GLOVES OFF.

And now, since the French militarists and their accomplices are persisting in their policy and deny its necessary and fatal accompaniments, I propose to take off the gloves and to describe the actual conditions prevailing in the French area of occupation west of the Rhine.

A. — BROTHELS AS MILITARY INSTITUTIONS.

One of the inevitable factors in the permanent establishment of an army of occupation in a foreign country is the brothel. Under the French occupation the brothel ranks as a military institution. The French •Command is much concerned about this Institution, and has impressed upon the civic authorities of the occupied areas the absolute essentiality of setting aside houses in the towns for the purpose, especially in the case of African troops. Many a small German town which never boasted a brothel has been compelled to set one up. In the great majority of cases the civic authorities of the town must pay for their upkeep—it is part of the cost of the army of occupation, which is a first charge upon German revenues, and which amounts to a fabulous figure. In some instances houses are selected out of which the inhabitants must needs be bundled neck and crop. In Ludwigshafen the inhabitants of the selected houses were turned out to live in cubicles in the school gymnasium. At Landau three families, together with the landlords of the selected houses, had to leave within three days.

At Saarbrucken the occupants had to clear out with twenty-four hours' notice. The brothel at Landau has cost the Municipality up to April of this year 10,835 marks ; the Municipality is also required to pay for the weekly examination of the prostitutes—from 32 to 40 marks per week. At Wiesbaden, where two brothels for French troops have existed for some time at a cost of 41,000 marks, the French Command has now requisitioned another for African troops in a public-house which has had to be set aside by the Municipality. There is a brothel for African troops at Kreuznach.

Last month a brothel for African troops was demanded at Dietz—in this case the order is for the establishment of an " Arabic brothel." At Saarbrucken the two houses commandeered for brothels are situate in a prominent part of the town—a demand for a third was successfully opposed! by the clergy of all denominations and by the local medical association.

Last year the firewood which the Municipality had here collected during the summer to help in the coal shortage was requisitioned to heat the brothel.

At Mainz the brothels for African troops cost the Municipality 70,000 marks. At Kostheim, where there is a large camp of African troops, the brothel (into which some coloured women have been imported) costs the Municipality 130,000 marks. At Bingen, where there is another brothel for African troops, the cost to the Municipality is 40,000 marks. At Hochst /a/M the brothels cost the town 29,000

marks. At Langenschwelbach the town is saved expense, as a contractor has taken on the job of managing this military Institution.

Maximilian Harden, the famous Editor of the *Zukunft,* has recently published a French Army Order setting out the regulations for the brothel at Munchen-Gladbach (Gasthausstrasse 7). It has been reproduced in other German papers and in *Le Populaire* of Paris. Here is an extract from this document, which begins by explaining that "owing to the shortage of municipal funds" no more than two women are available to "do the work," and that they complain of being overworked. So the Brigadier General who signs the order, moved by a desire to avoid the disorderly scenes which he alleges to be taking place, elaborates a time-table: — *"Working days in the brothel.* — All weekdays; on Sundays the house is closed. *Maximum limit.* — Each woman receives daily ten men . . . . Visiting hours from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. . . . *Scales of charges.* — For a quarter of an hour's visit (including entering and leaving), 5 marks. . . . *Distribution.* — The six weekdays are apportioned as under: Monday, 1st Battalion of Regiment 164; Tuesday, 1st Battalion of Regiment 169: Wednesday, 2nd Battalion of Regiment 164; Thursday, 2nd Battalion of Regiment 169; Friday, 3rd Battalion of Regiment 164; Saturday, 3rd Battalion of Regiment 169. . . . In each battalion there will be delivered on the respective days twenty tickets by the Sergeant-Major, five for each company. Men desirous of visiting the brothel must apply for the ticket which will give them priority on that day."

As already stated, several of the smaller towns occupied by the French had not previously attained the height of civilisation exemplified in the public brothel. A representative of the Rhenish Women's League, whom I recently questioned at considerable length, pointed out that one of the saddest and most demoralising features connected with these Institutions was the effect upon young children of the sight of long files of African troops waiting outside for their turn. The Mayor of a certain town in the Palatinate who demurred when requested to set up a brothel was told that hesitation on his part would render him liable to be brought before a military court. He was also informed that if a brothel was not established "German women, girls and boys would suffer the unavoidable consequences." They do suffer the "unavoidable consequences" of French militarist policy, brothels or no brothels, as I shall now demonstrate.

B. — OUTRAGES UPON WOMEN.

For the general reasons already given the official denial of cases of violence and outrage upon women and girls by African troops is bound to be untrue. I have before me details of some eighty cases of rape and attempted rape. But if these recorded cases, consisting of depositions by the victims before the civic authorities — their depositions being frequently accompanied by the statements of witnesses and sometimes by magistrates' reports and doctors' certificates — were five times as numerous they would not in themselves adequately portray the state of affairs prevailing in the occupied area. It is in the very nature of these happenings that the victims should be reluctant to report them. To this natural reluctance many factors in the general situation contribute. In the first place the occupied area is, as it were, isolated from the rest of Germany. There is the censorship. There is the passport system. There is the bullying of the local Press, so disingenuously vouched for by Mr. Bonar Law. There is the general disorganisation of civilian life produced by the occupation; the fears and timidities engendered among the common people and

among the civic authorities themselves — Germany is presumably not free from officials inclined to take the line of least resistance, especially when a simple decree of expulsion can put an end to activities regarded as pestilent by the French Command. There is the general atmosphere of intimidation and insolence which prevails: the feeling of helplessness which teaches that it is better to be beaten with whips than chastised with scorpions, which teaches, too, that protests are futile and attended by unpleasant consequences for the plaintiff; the lack of redress (9); the difficulty of identification; the vista of long years ahead with this burden to be borne. Add to this the capacity for silent suffering which characterises a rural population everywhere, intensified in this case by five years' mental, moral and physical strain.

(9) As an instance of the lack of redress, take the case of the girl student Maria Schnur, of Heinitz, which occurred on December 20, 1918. This unfortunate girl, daughter of a foreman in the mines at Heinitz, was attacked by a French soldier on the road between Elversberg and Friederichstat and mishandled so terribly that she died a day or two afterwards in the hospital of Neunkirchen, whither she had been conveyed. The case was taken out of the hands of the public prosecutor at Saarbrûcken by the request of the French military authorities. Full investigations were promised. The judicial authorities of Saarbrücken have received no further information on the case from that day to this—at least, not by April, 1920. The facts leaked out, and the victim's coffin was followed by a large concourse of people.

But from the abundant documentary evidence available it is not difficult to form an accurate notion of the conditions. Danger lurks everywhere for women and girls in the French area of occupation. Women are afraid to walk alone after sunset. Strolling in the woods is no longer possible. Girls doing agricultural work in the fields often need the protection of their men-folk. Girls and boys are molested on their way to and from school. The towns and villages and the roads leading to them are alike unsafe. In ones and twos, sometimes in parties, big, stalwart men from warmer climes, armed with sword-bayonets or knives, sometimes with revolvers, living unnatural lives of restraint, their fierce passions hot within them, roam the countryside. Woe to the girl returning to her village home, or on the way to town with market produce, or at work alone hoeing in the fields. Dark forms come leaping out from the shadows of the trees, appear unexpectedly among the vines and grasses, rise from the corn where they have lain concealed. Then—panic-stricken flight which often availeth not . . .

Most of the cases I shall now epitomise are full of abundant detail: the exact spot where the outrage occurred is usually stated with minute precision. So copious are the details that the documents recording them would fill a volume. I suppress the name in every instance for reasons which he preceding remarks will make plain. The description of the assailant, or assailants, is in every case quoted from the deposition.

Reported from Frankfurt. — April, 1920 (doctor's deposition attached). "Black" French soldier forces his way into a woman's house, assaults her with extreme violence almost strangling her, drags her to the floor, sticks a knife in it within reach of his hand while he rapes her. When she is released she rushes from the house, and seeing a party of French soldiers, complains. She is told in reply that her assailant has not been home for two and a-half years, that these things must happen. One of the soldiers, pointing to her fair hair, remarks that the Black soldiers are specially partial to blondes.

Reported from Porz. — Easter, 1920. Attempted rape of a woman of sixty-five by a " Coloured " soldier.

Reported from. Elsdorf. — May 15, 1920. Attempted rape of a woman of thirty-five; failure after desperate resistance; great violence used.

Reported from Urbach. — March, 1920. Two women and a young man, the son of one of them, fetching wood in a cart ; assaulted by four ” Coloured ” soldiers; girl escapes; son holds his mother in his arms; their cries attract attention and the soldiers make off.

Reported from Bensberg. — March, 1920. Watchmaker walking with his wife; attacked by four “Coloured” soldiers, demanding that woman should yield herself; both man and woman severely mauled; their cries bring passers-by, and the soldiers move off without accomplishing their purpose.

Reported from Kaiserlauten. — A batch of cases ranging from December, 1918, to May, 1920. Cases include two cases of indecent assault upon boys aged seven and eleven respectively, in the latter case a medical examination reveals that the victim has contracted syphilis: and eight cases of attempted rape by soldiers, variously designated as ”Coloured," “Moroccan and "Black.” These attempted cases of rape include two accompanied by housebreaking—one of them the virtual siege of an inn, in which a girl, pursued by a “Coloured” soldier, had taken refuge, by some thirty African soldiers, until relieved by the " French police.” In the six remaining cases the assaults took place in the fields.

Reported from Trier. — Several cases, ranging from September, 1919, to June, 1920. The cases include indecent assault upon a boy, accompanied by serious laceration, by the “Moroccan“ servant of the French Captain Laurent, billeted in the house (punishment promised) ; and a particularly horrible case of rape, accompanied by robbery, of a servant girl aged twenty-one, in the neighbourhood of the barracks, by three "Coloured” soldiers. Victim taken to hospital.

Reported from Mainz. — May, 1920. Working girl of nineteen seized on the road to Wiesbaden by a “Moroccan” soldier guarding a waggon-shed. Raped with great violence after being threatened with bayonet. ([10])

([10]) In this case the documents include a letter from the French officer in the district. It reads as follows: “I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication No. 324, dated May 5, on the subject of the rape perpetrated upon . . . . of Weisenau. This is admittedly the second time within a short period that a similar act of violence has been perpetrated upon German women. Such incidents are wholly deplorable (De pareils faits sont parfaitement déplorables). I have sent your report to the General commanding the army on the Rhine. The guilty party, whom it was possible to discover immediately, will be prosecuted, and certainly punished, with all the necessary rigour.” This letter, which does credit to the writer, is significant from many points of view.

Reported from Karlsruhe. — Batch of cases, June, 1920. The cases include the raping of a woman by two “Black” soldiers. A man and woman, on the way to Eueneheim, sprung upon by ° five or six Coloured soldiers” hidden in the corn; man threatened with bayonet, **woman** dragged into the cornfield and raped by three of the soldiers, and robbed. Two cases of attempted rape in the same neighbourhood.

Reported from Siegburg. — April, 1920. A girl and boy attacked by four "Coloured” soldiers, girl dragged into the wood, and raped. May. —Two separate cases of attempted rape in the same neighbourhood by three “Coloured” soldiers. Ln both cases the girls were threatened, with **a** revolver and bayonet respectively. In

both cases their cries attracted attention, and the assailant made off without accomplishing his purpose.

Reported from Erbenheim. — (In this case, the principal deposition is made by the head of the local Police Force.) May, 1920. — Three girls, aged respectively sixteen, fourteen, and fifteen, attacked by two "Moroccans," one of the girls seized, dragged into a cornfield and raped, the others escape and get help from the village, assailant seized by the villagers, and overpowered after a furious resistance, in the course of which he tries to draw his sword bayonet. The Report says that, as a result of this and similar incidents in the neighbourhood, women and girls refuse to work in the fields without male protection, as "Moroccan" soldiers are always wandering about the country side.

Reported from Julich. — February, 1920. A woman of thirty-four attacked by three "Coloured" soldiers, several people attracted by her cries for help; soldiers made off without accomplishing their design, clothes ripped and torn from girl's body; victim suffering from shock.

Reported from Ludwigshafen. — Batch of cases ranging from January to May, 1920. Cases include the breaking into a house by a " Moroccan " soldier, and the rape of a woman of thirty-one, preceded by threats with a razor. An attack upon a woman and girl working in the fields by four "Black" soldiers, the woman (aged fifty-nine), raped by all four soldiers, the girl (aged fifteen), raped by two of them. An attempted rape of a girl of sixteen by two "Black" soldiers: girl escapes, and takes refuge in a neighbour's house, robbed of her wrist watch in the struggle. An attempted rape of a girl, aged twenty-four, by two "Black" soldiers, who beat her with their belts, as she resisted: interrupted before being able to accomplish their purpose. And a terrible case, in which a young woman, twenty years old, walking with her sweetheart, was set upon by a detachment of "Black" soldiers; the man, stunned with a blow and badly wounded; the girl, dragged by the throat into a field, and successfully raped by the whole detachment.

Reported from Euskirchen. — Batch of cases, ranging from January to June, 1920. The cases include: Attempted rape by a "Native" soldier of a girl of sixteen, walking on a country road; girl flung into a ditch, treated with horrible violence, clothes torn to pieces. Attempted rape by a "Moroccan" soldier: Woman attacked on a bridge, clothes torn, wounded in arm and breast by sword bayonet (medical evidence), rescued by passer-by. Attempted rape of a girl of eighteen: Seized by the leader of a "Native" detachment coming along the road. Attempted rape of a woman by a "Moroccan" soldier, great violence used, three times flung upon the ground, bruised throat and arm (medical evidence).

Imported from Wiesbaden. — Batch of cases ranging from October, 1919, to January, 1920. Cases include attempted rape, accompanied by theft f a gold brooch, by two "Moroccans." of a woman walking towards the town ; an attack upon a girl near the drill ground by " Moroccan " soldiers, who attempted to drag her away, cries attracted attention, the soldiers then left her, one striking her in the face with his fist and stunning her; attempted rape of a young woman by a "Coloured" soldier, who sprang upon her with an open knife in his hand, flung her to the ground, tore her under clothes to shreds and beat her on the head, assailant disturbed by passers-by, and made off without accomplishing his purpose ; two other attempted rapes by " Moroccan " soldiers.

Reported from Cologne. — June, 1920. Two boys on the way to Eusk kirchen indecently assaulted by three “Coloured” soldiers.

C. — A PROLONGED SCANDAL.

Nearly all the cases epitomised above are of recent date. But there is a goodly list of earlier ones recorded in 1919, including, among many others, the rape by a "Moroccan ” soldier of a woman of fifty-six returning from a visit to her daughter at Andernach (medical evidence); the rape of a woman on her way to Gersheim by a “Madagascar” soldier; the rape of three young women returning from work in the fields by a party of “ Coloured ” soldiers near Rodelheim ; the rape of a young woman by two " Black ” soldiers near Ludwigshafen, assailants tore clothes from her body and hit her over the head, rendering her unconscious : the rape of a woman of seventy-three by a “ Brown” soldier on the road to Laumersheim; the rape of two girls by “Coloured” soldiers near Julich ; the rape of a girl near Trier by two “Moroccan” soldiers, girl raped three times, had to go to hospital: attempted rape of the wife of the chief land assessor in a certain town in the Palatinate (I withold the name of the town), etc., etc.

Indeed, the shame of this damnable business is aggravated by the fact that it has been going on for more than a year. The alleged situation in the Saar valley as far back as last October may be estimated from *he following extracts from issues of the *Rheinische Korrespondenz* of that month : —

The girl murders at Saarbrücken.— The terrible explanation of the disappearance of numerous young girls in the Saar valley as now revealed is causing tremendous excitement in the population. In spite of hushing up by the French military authorities, who simply deny the bestial deeds perpetrated on German girls by their Black soldiers, the conviction is gaining ground more and more that all the girls thus far reported missing have been used in this abominable manner by the Black soldiers in the Foch barracks (formerly Uhlan barracks) at Saarbrucken, and have afterwards been murdered in order to bide these crimes, and thrown into the manure pits. It is now remembered that all these suddenly missing young girls were missed at Saarbrücken, and that most of them had been near the Foch barracks shortly before their disappearance. As the French Military Command of the Rhine Army have but lately tried to represent their Black soldiers as “good-natured and gentle creatures,” it is now. of course, very difficult for them to admit these ghastly girl murders. Just as the many other murders which have taken place in the Saar district since its occupation by the French, so these latest murders will remain unpunished. Moreover, all persons who report these cases or in any way endeavour to have them cleared up are heavily punished.

The long list of young -girls from the Saar district who were reported as missing has been further added to by two cases of mere children. One is the fourteen-year-old daughter of the miner Jacob Paul in Guierscheid, the other the ten-year-old child of the printer and publisher Pechner at Saarbrucken. Both children were well developed.

Tn the other parts of the territory occupied by the French, too, complaints are increasing as to the disappearance of juvenile females.

That the German Government has been making official representations to the Allies from the first was made clear by Dr. Koster, then Foreign Minister, in his speech in the Reichstag on May 20 last. In the course of his speech Dr. Koster said: — " The Government is grateful for the interpellation, which gives it the opportunity to voice the anguish of the German people on this subject. For months this incubus

has weighed upon the German people, and has now begun to arrest the attention of neutrals and opponents . . . . The German Government is not inspired by racial prejudice . . . . But we can say, without exaggerating, that the introduction of nearly 50,000 coloured troops in the centre of white Europe is a crime against the whole of Europe . . . . It is a moral crime, a moral degradation, to place a people which for a year has been plundered economically and nationally, under the domination of 50,000 Africans.

Apart from this, these troops are a terrible danger hygienically not only for Germany, but for all Europe. The ceaseless brutalities, the murder of harmless citizens, the violation of women, girls and boys, the gigantic increase in prostitution, the opening of numerous brothels, as well as the rapid spread of sexual disease, all this represents a policy which can only be called a continuation of war with the most ruthless of weapons . . . the result of which will be that the western parts of Germany will be permanently infected . . . . The German Government has protested ever since the armistice, but without avail . . . . Our brothers in the west must be freed from this scourge. If they were not so exhausted, mentally and physically, they would have defended themselves more energetically, and the echo in the whole of Germany would have been stronger were our whole people not so tired out." Needless to say the British people were not allowed to read this speech.

D. — MURDEROUS ASSAULTS.

Cases of murderous assault are naturally less frequent. Those of which I have particulars occurred last year. They include murders of men and women by "Black" soldiers, chiefly from the banks of the Rhine by shooting.

So numerous were these cases in the summer of last year that the organised raftsmen of the Rhine and tributaries issued a public protest.

VI. — A GENERAL PROCESS OF DEBASEMENT AND DEGRADATION.

As I have already stated, these specifically recorded sexual outrages, horrible as they are, cannot in themselves, taken alone, convey a full com prehension of the real state of affairs in the districts west of the Rhine under French occupation. A general process of debasement and demoralisation is going on. It operates in a variety of directions. If the reader has grasped the implications of the main fact, which I once more accentuate, viz., the permanent presence in the Rhineland of an enforced celibate army of conscripted, polygamous Africans, whose sexual needs must some how be met, he will understand that the French command is under an obligation to provide for those needs, lest the men become uncontrollable, and military discipline, which from all accounts appears lax enough as it is, (11) be wholly undermined. This, again, *is a fact*. The French Command is hardly to be blamed for recognising that fact, and acting upon it. The blame rests upon the shoulders of the politicians and the militarists who have created the situation. The compulsory establishment of

brothels is the obvious, public admission of *the fact* by the French Command. But the brothel is insufficient.

(11) Numerous arrays between African troops and French *gendarmerie* have appeared in the German newspapers from time to time. A French correspondent, re siding in Germany, writes me: “A friend of mine has recently returned from the occupied region of the Saar. He had the following significant experience. Several Black soldiers, and two French soldiers, got into his carriage. The Blacks took the available seats, leaving the Frenchmen standing. One of the latter said to my friend, who had expressed his astonishment, “ What can you expect ? We cannot help it. They helped us a good deal in the war. Now they think they are the masters, and act accordingly.” My friend had subsequently a few words with the Black soldiers. One of them said to him : “It is we who won the war. Without us the French would never have got the best of the Germans.”

The various societies which deal with rescue and other similar work for girls, in the Rhenish provinces, to the number of twenty-five, have now banded themselves together into a League with the object of helping the women and girls in the French occupied areas. The membership of these societies runs into millions. The League is non-political and non-sectarian.

The French Command does not interfere directly with the work of these societies, but, it is alleged, hampers them indirectly at every turn. No one is allowed to prevent girls from having intercourse with the French troops.

The general allegation is that complaints by parents and guardians are ignored, or, if pressed unduly, are twisted into a criticism of the Army of Occupation, which is treated as a punishable offence. Indeed, it would seem that any action taken with the object of protesting against the condition of affairs existing, is represented as an " attack upon the security of the French Army.” Rescue work is naturally made extremely difficult- while this attitude prevails.

The French Command lives in a state of nervous tension, and is always suspecting plots—which is hardly to be wondered at. Moreover, there is bitter annoyance at the failure which has so far attended the persistent attempts to foster a feeling among the population in favour of setting up a Rhenish Republic. Numerous are the ways in which rescue work is subtly interfered with. Powerful subterranean influences are perceived to be at work to prevent girls who have contracted sexual relations with the soldiery from being removed from the influences surrounding them. In one case it took five months to rescue a girl of sixteen from a brothel. In the case of a girl of seventeen, who had been swept into one of these houses, every effort to remove her has failed up to the present.

The billeting of African troops in private houses is not an unusual practice, especially in the case of orderlies and servants. Much dread is felt as to what may happen if autumn manœuvres are ordered, as in that event the troops cannot, of course, be relegated to barracks, and the practice of billeting in private houses will be largely extended. There is something like a house-famine in Get many, as there is in England, and the evils attendant upon private billeting are thereby intensified. School buildings and private houses are requisitioned often in the most arbitrary fashion.

I have details of several pitiful cases arising out of this practice of billeting in Private houses, the victim in one case being a girl of fourteen. In another case, which

occurred at Mainz-Kostheim, a "Moroccan" criminally assaulted the woman in whose house he was billeted, in the absence of her husband. When the husband returned home two hours later, he found ins wife still unconscious (French medical report).

It must also be borne mind that barracks are only available in the larger towns, and that many small villages in the Palatinate are occupied by African and French troops.

The spread of venereal disease is a necessary accompaniment of the plague which French militarism has imported into the Palatinate and the Saar. Positive data on this subject is still lacking, at least as far as I am concerned. That the hospitals are full to overflowing with these cases is admitted. The worst account I have read of the spread of venereal disease in the French occupied area I have read in a French paper and I am unable to control the source of the information. The *Lokal Anzeiger* (Berlin) of May 8 last said: —

Many young German girls, some not more than fourteen or fifteen, are brought to the hospitals . . . . This is equally true of Coblenz, Bonn and Treves . . . . The hospitals no longer suffice. Public buildings have had to be requisitioned. For instance, at Coblenz the Catholic Teachers' Seminary and the State archives building have been taken over. The moral health of the Rhineland is being poisoned.

It is stated, with what truth I have been unable to discover, that a large proportion of the African troops are syphilitic.

VII. — DEMORALISING TENDENCIES.

In addition to these various factors making for the corruption and degradation of the population of the Rhineland, the effect of certain tendencies must not be lost sight of. When an active agency for evil is imported into a community—and the existence of an African army camped among a white population must be regarded as an active evil—the bad elements within the community respond. There are bad parents and viciously disposed girls in the Rhineland as everywhere else. The bad parent's opposition to the work of the Rescue Societies is naturally strengthened by the attitude of the French Command—the difficulty of arresting a girl's downward course is proportionately increased. That is one tendency. Another arises from the economic conditions. Owing to the state of the mark the African private in the French Army of Occupation is in fact a wealthy man, relatively speaking. His pay, in marks, exceeds the pay, in marks, of a German officer of high rank. He stalks, a man of means, through a countryside whose inhabitants are hit by the same cause which ministers to his opulence.

Poverty is probably the greatest of all incentives to prostitution the world over. - Speaking roughly, wages in Germany have increased by 500 per cent., while the cost of living has increased to over 1,600 per cent., and the price of clothes is enormous.

And there is a third tendency — viz., the "tone" of the French Command towards the population of the occupied area. The Berlin correspondent of *Le Populaire,* of Paris, has recently drawn attention to this in a striking letter. There

are, of course, individual exceptions among the officers—men who behave as "officers and gentlemen," as the old saying has it. It would be strange, indeed, if France, which contains so many chivalrous souls, counted none of these in the French Command. But the policy dictated by the politicians and militarists in Paris inspires the general. "tone" west of the Rhine. And the policy would appear to be deliberately directed to humiliate and to insult. It finds expression in acts which, in some cases, are almost unbelievable. Take the following incident, which was recorded in the *Neue Badischer Landeszeitung* of May 29. Its accuracy is certified by the Burgomaster of Caub in a communication (in response to an inquiry), the original of which is in my possession. (The Burgomaster's communication is dated June 7): —

"On Friday, May 7, at 2 p.m., an officer and about thirty-five men of a French Infantry Regiment, and a sailor, landed from Kostheim at the town of Caub, district of St. Goarshausen, situated in the *unoccupied* territory.

The illegally-landed party assembled at the Blucher statue, and the officer made a speech which obviously delighted the men. It ended in the invitation to the men to sully the statue by urination. The officer preceded the men in this action. The incident drew a large crowd to the statue, and it was only due to the sober and quiet attitude of two (German) sergeants that the provocative action of the soldiers and their leader did not result in bloodshed. The justified indignation of the public was answered by the officer with threats with his loaded revolver and by gesticulating with his riding whip. After the party had embarked in the motor-boat to re-cross the Rhine this gentleman called back to the crowd, '*Tas de cochons!*' (Set of pigs)." Numerous occurrences exhibiting the same kind of spirit are reported. " Many of these gentlemen," writes an inhabitant of the Palatinate to an English friend, " have no more respect for a German than for a wild beast, or less." The following incidents would appear to justify the statement.

They are among a batch communicated to a well-known British philanthropic society by a German lady doctor, who received them from Princess Marie zu Erbach, President of the German National Union of Friends of Young Girls. Their accuracy is vouched for, but the places are not mentioned in the brief epitome forwarded: —

"A school teacher sent in a complaint, because his sister had been molested by a Black soldier. Asked for the name of the assailant, he was, of course, unable to give it. He was then told that anonymous complaints were insults to the French Army. He was compelled to withdraw the complaint, and to apologise." . . . "A mother had forbidden her daughters to dance with French soldiers. As a punishment, the woman had to sweep the street for a fortnight, and the girls had to report themselves daily." . . . "A village was occupied by troops. The Commander, after having got his room, demanded the Mayor to procure him a young, girl for the night." ... "A young girl of the better class, returning with a girl friend from a row on the river, where she had been annoyed by Frenchmen, disembarked near thirty to forty soldiers. One of these embraced her, and handled her in a grossly objectionable manner. As she pushed him away, stones were thrown at her by the man's comrades. At the tram terminus the soldier overtook her, and gave her a severe blow on the ear. so that she fell against an adjoining garden railing. An officer was looking, and laughed." . . " In a small village, a young girl, who unwittingly annoyed a Frenchman (the cause was quite trivial) was locked up for three hours in a dark hole of a pumping-house. She shared her imprisonment with three Moroccan prisoners and a Frenchman."

It is natural that the African troops should take their cue from their masters.

VIII. — CONCLUSION.

Such is the hell created west of the Rhine by French militarism. I have recently been informed from an unquestionable American source that when the British and American representatives at Versailles became aware that the French Military authorities intended using large numbers of African troops in their particular zone of occupation, earnest efforts were made to dissuade them from their contemplated step. It is a little late in the day to try and shield French militarism from the shame attendant upon its deeds.

A faint hope might have existed that publicity, combined with friendly unofficial representations by third parties, the protests of prominent Frenchmen and of neutrals, the discomfort of the British authorities (of which the French Government has had proofs) would have sufficed to turn French militarism from a course of action in the highest degree prejudicial to France, condemned by French working-class opinion and by all decent- minded people in France who know the facts. For no valid reason can be urged in support of French policy in this respect. It is deliberate, calculated, purposeful. The military requirements of France do not make it necessary. Germany is helpless. She is virtually disarmed. In no quarter is it suggested that it would be possible for her within measurable distance of time to raise and equip an array wherewith to fight even the French alone. Her own internal troubles are, moreover, notorious. The French, on the other hand, are still armed to the teeth. They still have a force of, I believe, some 600,000 men under arms. They have lent hundreds of officers to the Poles. They have got military instructors in Czecho-Slovakia, and, I understand, in Hungary. They have but recently embarked upon an Imperialist war in Syria, in which they are using masses of African troops. The militarist spirit was never stronger among the ruling classes in France than it is at present. The French Labour Press records continuous proofs of this.

But, since French militarism—contrary to the interests of the French people—persists in its course of action in the occupied regions of Germany, then the shame of this thing shall be blazoned to the four corners of the earth, and our people shall know that their own Government cannot escape complicity in a policy which provides for a fifteen years' military occupation of German soil, in order to " guarantee" the execution of a Treaty which is literally impossible of being executed, and which, in fact, is in constant process of being revised, although the word " revision " must only be mentioned with bated breath.

I repeat once more that, given the fact of an occupation of German territory in time of peace by African troops, conscripted by their white masters from the North African coast to the Congo forests for the purpose of killing white men in Europe, in which task they have been engaged for five years, occurrences of the kind mentioned in this pamphlet, the brothel system, the growth of prostitution, and the general debasement of the population, were alike inevitable. And the politicians and the militarists in Paris were perfectly well aware of it. The full details can never be wholly known. The full effects of a gigantic evil of this kind do not become immediately visible. They take years to disclose themselves. But the real issue is not in the *effects*. Nor need the truth, or otherwise, of the capacity of the French Command to control its African auxiliaries greatly concern us. It is the cause; it is the fact itself which matters. That fact constitutes an outrage upon Europe as a whole.

The appeal to the women of Europe and of the United States, to Inter national Labour, to those who in every land are working for peace and international reconstruction, should be irresistible.

The appeal to humanitarians, to societies, and to individuals who have for years laboured for justice to the African, should be no less emphatic.

Here the issue is quite simple. Are the races of Africa to be militarily enslaved, and, as an eventual result, is war to rage all over Africa in order that the ambitions of European Imperialism in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa may be fulfilled? (12) No irrelevancies should be allowed to obscure this plain question.

(12) Up to July, 1918, according to the statement of the Colonial Minister in the French Senate, the French Government had employed just under one million Coloured men in the war—the vast majority of which were Africans, viz., 680,000 fighting men and 238,000 labourers. The great bulk of the fighting men were Africans. To this total must be added the units recruited later in the year in French Equatorial Africa numbering 15,000. Of the fighting men, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa (French Congo) furnished 181,152. Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Madagascar, the French Somali Coast, the French West Indies and French Cochin-China produced the remainder. Recent decrees apply conscription to the whole of French tropical and sub-tropical Africa—an area as large as Europe. The French military authorities reckon that this will produce a permanent Negro Army of 100,000 men, and estimate a further 100,000 from Madagascar, the French West Indies, and the French Somali Coast—mainly Negroes in each case. These African conscripts are to serve three years, two out of which are to be spent in France—read. Europe. These figures do not take into account the contingents raised in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis —mainly Berbers (Moors) and Arabs. It is stated in the book, u Martyred Tunis"

To the people of Britain the appeal is direct, precise and dual in character. As a governing Power in Africa the French policy of con scripting African manhood faces us with two alternatives, that of ultimately conscripting the peoples of our African colonies and dependencies; or running the risk of having our own territories invaded, sooner or later, by masses of African levies in revolt against the slender chain of an allegiance which can be snapped at any moment. Either alternative involves bloodshed and profound disturbance, an undoing of the work of years—perhaps irremediable disaster. As a world-power, whose continental foreign policy largely determines the national destinies, we are confronted by two alternatives: the creation of a real League of Nations; or military alliance with one or more Continental Powers. The first alternative would mean for our people a long period of peace—perhaps a stabilisation of peace conditions, or at least of anti-war conditions. But a real League of Nations is impossible while France wages war upon Western Germany with African troops. The other alternative involves certain war. Let the facts be faced. A democratic, a Socialise France would mean a peaceful France, ready to co-operate in building a real League of Nations. The present militarist and imperialist France has no more use for a real League of Nations than have the militarist and imperialist influences in Great Britain. The France of to-day may not be, let us hope will not be, the France of to-morrow. But the policy of the France of to-day is a military alliance with Britain, America and Belgium, against the Germany of to morrow, which French militarism is goading into a fury of revengeful emotion. America will have none of this alliance. If Belgium chooses to rush upon her ruin that is her look-out. But the question for us is: Are our infant sons to be doomed to a violent and senseless death in manhood because French militarism is sowing the seeds of ineradicable hatreds in Europe? Are we to reap the crops? Are we, presently, to suffer once again because German boys are being told to-day: "They obtained our

surrender under false pretences. They promised us an honourable peace. We laid down our arms. When we were helpless they forced us to sign a Treaty which condemned us to death-in-life. They went on starving us for months and months. They stole our territory. They seized our colonies. They filched our coal and iron. They laid hands upon the property of our citizens abroad. They piled humiliation upon humiliation on us. All this they did. These things we can forget, though hardly. But that was not enough. They inflicted upon us the supreme outrage. From the plains and forests, from the valleys and the swamps of Africa they brought tens of thousands of savage men, and thrust them upon us. Boys, *these men raped your mothers and sisters!* This, neither you, nor we, nor they, must ever be allowed to forget."

(La Tunisie martyre), published in Paris this year (Jouve et Cie : 15, rue Racine) that 65,000 conscripted Tunisians were sent to the Western Front during the war, 45,000 of whom were killed and wounded; a further 30,000 were conscripted and sent to France as labourers— "thousands" of them died of disease. The book is a fierce protest against the French treatment of the Tunisians. The process of conscripting the Negro levies in French West Africa has led to extensive bloodshed, and vast disturbance. The full facts have been concealed from the French public. But the French Governor-General threw up his post in protest against a policy which he declined to carry out, and which, he said, caused the Native people to declare that the Slave Trade had been revived.

SOME LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS PAMPHLET

From George Brandes.

I desire to associate myself in the fullest way with your protest.

From Henri Barbusse.

I am heartily with you in your protest against the use of black troops. Your action does not surprise me. You were subjected to abuse, and you incurred honour, in denouncing the abominable outrages committed upon the humble inhabitants of the Dark Continent. It is natural that you should protest against the inhuman tasks to which they are being set to-day. Moreover, the fact that from martyrs they should have become executioners does not affect the irresponsibility of these primitive beings whom civilisation uses merely as instruments. The hordes who to-day are poured over German towns are precisely what they were yesterday—unhappy slaves, in whose primitive minds the scientific European has, for his own purposes, rekindled the taste and the idea of degradation, rape, and murder.

We know the methods adopted to fetch them out of their own country. We know how they have been torn from their natural life by armed raids and incendiary fires, to be carried off into captivity and thrust into barracks, to be slaughtered by being used in attacks made in open country where masses of them perish, to die of cold and of diseases, which they did the more easily since their suffering awakened no echoes and they themselves hardly knew how to explain their troubles.

How many—while I was at the front—have I not seen die of consumption, exhaustion, and melancholy, poisoned by our northern fogs, collapsing little by little like mere things, deprived of that southern sun which they needed.

On the Riviera, where the rich enjoy all the subtleties of luxury and live princely lives, I have seen these unhappy blacks herded like animals in a pen. The arms of many were marked by weals from the ropes with which they had been tied to bring them from their country and to prevent them, once landed in Europe, from running away. Many of them committed suicide from wretchedness and through pining for their own land.

All this has not prevented the pernicious Jingo Press from exalting the heroism of the traders in black flesh, whose energies had secured this additional number of soldiers for the home country, or from, lavishing praise -upon the clever manœuvres which enabled us to benefit from the sacrifice of the black troops.

These lyrical outpourings appear to me to resemble the odes to the dead, because the primitive men whom civilisation allows to be brought over in shiploads are hardly less capable of protesting and defending their poor cause than those who perished on the field of battle.

For all these reasons, my comrades of the war and I protest once more against the barbarism and the duplicity of the men who rule us, and we add that the policy you denounce, a policy disastrous for the native races and on which France has

embarked, tends to induce all the other nations more or less, and in so far as they are able, also to make use of black human cannon-fodder.

It may be that British jingoism will interpret your justified and noble protest in the light of a special attack upon France. We are familiar with the procedure which consists in framing a great question in an incidental and secondary one in order by underhand methods to fight it the more effectively. But all this will not prevent you once again from winning through.

From Jean Longuet (of the French Socialist Party and Editor of *Le Populaire*).

I beg you to inform our British comrades at the Central Hall that we are absolutely at one with them in their protest against the crime of employing black troops in the occupied provinces on the left and right banks of the Rhine. It is one of the most odious aspects of contemporary militarism and imperialism. Just as we are at one with you in protesting against outrages in India, in Egypt, and now in Ireland for which your governing classes are responsible, so do we entirely approve of your protest against the use of African or Asiatic troops for the occupation of European cities. The occupation by these troops of the house where Goethe was born is a symbol which has painfully affected the whole of thinking Europe and all those who in France desire to remain faithful to the noblest and most glorious traditions of our country. But beyond this our working class population realises that it is confronted with a danger affecting it particularly. To-morrow these Moroccan and Senegalese troops will be employed against French Labour and when French Labour demands its rights. And that is why I desire, on behalf of our friends of the French Socialist Party, to proclaim in the most emphatic manner that your action can in no way whatsoever be considered as anti-French. On the contrary, the best way in which you can show that you remain attached to the most noble traditions of the France of Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Michelet, and Jean Jaurès is to protest as you are doing against the outrage inflicted upon our country by our Government.

From General C. B. Thomson. C.B.E., D.S.O. (British Military Representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles. May, 1918-June, 1919).

I have read your letter in to-day's *Daily Herald* with great interest, and share to the full your horror and disgust at the employment of black French troops in Germany. Having had some experience of the West Coast of Africa, I can confirm what you say as to the sexual proclivities of these men, to whom, *in default, of women of their own race, intercourse with European women is a necessity which has to be met*. The contamination is mutual, both from a physical and moral point of view and, in pre-war days, formed one of the worst features of Military Tournaments and Coronation Reviews in which coloured troops took part.

There is another side to this question, which, though not so physically revolting, is even more serious—savages are being trained to the use of arms and taught to despise the European races, at one and the same time. Their worst qualities are being stimulated, and they will return to their native lands restless, dissatisfied, ripe for any mischief, and the ready tools of those who wish to stir up strife. France is, in fact, engaged in militarising Western Africa. The consequences will be incalculable and uncontrollable, they will first be felt in the French African colonies, but will extend and creep over the whole continent of Africa.

This suicidal policy is the work of a small clique of reactionaries and militarists who serve the interests of industrial magnates. Ever since the signing of the Armistice, both the French and British Governments have submitted to dictation by these men, and until they are induced to impotence no remedy will be found. The publicity you are giving to these atrocious happenings in Germany will, it is to be hoped, rouse an apathetic public to sane realisation of the iniquities sanctioned by the Peace Treaties and also of the total incapacity of the men who made those Treaties to deal with modern problems either at home or abroad.

By your plucky action in exposing these horrors you are, in my opinion, rendering a great public service, and that success will attend your efforts must be the wish of every honest man.

From Fabrizio Maffi, Claudio Treves, Enrico Ferri, and Francesco Ciccotti (Socialist Deputies in the Italian Parliament).

The employment of coloured troops in the crushing of the peoples that were defeated by famine is an episode both instructive and symbolical. We are filled with loathing at the shamelessness against which you protest.

From General Marazzi (President of the Roman Branch of the Italian Association for Popular Control).

We protest emphatically against the occupation of German cities by coloured troops.

From Prince Max von Baden.

I fail to understand the attitude of mind which hesitates to speak out on this subject, for the wrong done to the black troops is not less than the wrong done to the German people.

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Editor's note: This transcription is based on the pamphlet's facsimile located here:

https://archive.org/details/morel-e.-d.-the-horror-on-the-rhine-1921